

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T ATHENS 933

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PFOR, MARR, NATO, GR

SUBJ: ISSUES INVOLVED IN KEEPING NATO ALLIES APPRISED  
OF US/GREEK BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS

REFS: A. STATE 022598

B. US NATO 523

C. US NATO 551

1. WE SHARE DEPARTMENT'S WISH THAT OTHER NATO ALLIES BE KEPT APPRISED OF US-GREEK BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS TO EXTENT NECESSARY TO PREVENT GROWTH OF FEELING THAT THEIR INTERESTS ARE NOT ADEQUATELY PROTECTED. WHETHER MECHANISM BEST SUITED TO MEET THIS OBJECTIVE IS ONE OF THREE SUGGESTED IN PARA 6, REF A IS MATTER ON WHICH USNATO BEST QUALIFIED TO COMMENT. HOWEVER, SECOND OBJECTIVE, AVOIDING DEVELOPMENT OF ADVERSARY ATMOSPHERE IN RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GREECE AND ITS ALLIES, IS MATTER ON WHICH WE WISH TO COMMENT AND WHICH DOES RELATE BACK TO THE THREE ALTERNATIVES.

2. WE NOTE THAT TURK PERMREP WAS UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO MAKE STATEMENT, REPORTED IN PARA 7, REF B, THAT WOULD SEEM TO PRESAGE GOT PLANS TO FOLLOW A HARD LINE IN ITS PARTICIPATION IN NATO/GREECE NEGOTIATIONS AND PERHAPS IN ITS COMMENT ON US/GREEK NEGOTIATIONS. ALTHOUGH ONE CAN UNDERSTAND TURKEY'S POINT OF VIEW, SINCE IT HAS BECOME THE DANGLING, NEARLY SEVERED SOUTHEASTERN APPENDAGE OF NATO, SUCH PARTICIPATION WILL INEVITABLY STIMULATE VERY  
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NEGATIVE REACTION FROM GOG AND THUS RUN DIRECTLY COUNTER

TO THE OBJECTIVE OF AVOIDING DEVELOPMENT OF AN ADVERSARY ATMOSPHERE. THIS DIFFICULTY WOULD BEST BE AVOIDED BY KEEPING ALLIES INFORMED TO GREATEST POSSIBLE EXTENT THROUGH LESS FORMAL MECHANISM, SUCH AS WAS FOLLOWED IN CONTACTS DESCRIBED IN REF C. WE TRUST THAT ALLIES OTHER THAN TURKEY WILL SEE NEED TO AVOID POTENTIALLY CONTENTIOUS EXPOSURE OF GREEK ISSUES IN LARGE FORUM AND PERMIT USE OF LESS FORMAL MECHANISM, SUCH AS SECOND ALTERNATIVE DESCRIBED IN PARA 6, REF A.

3. DEPARTMENT IS, OF COURSE, CORRECT IN ITS OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FRENCH SITUATION IN 1966 AND GREEK SITUATION OF 1975. GREEKS ARE NOT UNAWARE OF QUITE CONSIDERABLE DIFFERENCES IN THE TWO SITUATIONS, PARTLY, AT LEAST, AS A RESULT OF OUR POINTING OUT TO THEM THE INAPPLICABILITY OF THE FRENCH PRECEDENT. IN THIS CONNECTION, AND IN THE EVENT IT IS NOT EVIDENT TO OTHER OBSERVERS, WE PERCEIVE A GREEK ATTITUDE TOWARDS NATO WHICH IS BOTH MORE CONSTRUCTIVE AND REALISTIC THAN THE GOG'S PUBLIC RHETORIC WOULD SUGGEST. GOG CLEARLY SEEMS TO WISH NOT TO INHIBIT THE FUNCTIONING OF MULTILATERAL NATO ACTIVITIES, SUCH AS NAMFI AND NAWTC, WHICH BENEFIT ITS ALLIES, BUT IN THE ABSENCE OF A SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION OF CYPRUS AND CURRENT GREEK/TURKISH PROBLEMS IS NOT KEEN TO KEEP UP THOSE WHICH PROVIDE SUBSTANTIAL BENEFIT TO THE GOT, SUCH AS NICS, NADGE, ET AL. EQUALLY CLEAR IS THE GOG DESIRE TO GO THROUGH WITH ITS DEMONSTRATIVE WITHDRAWAL FROM MILITARY INTEGRATION IN NATO WHILE RETAINING EVERY BENEFIT POSSIBLE OF THOSE WHICH HAVE ACCRUED FROM NATO MEMBERSHIP. WHILE OTHER ALLIES MIGHT EVENTUALLY TOLERATE ACCOMMODATION ALONG THESE LINES, IT SEEMS DOUBTFUL TO US THE GOT WILL AGREE TO DO SO. IN SHORT, WE FORESEE THE POSSIBILITY OF ACRIMONIOUS AND UNCONSTRUCTIVE EXCHANGES INVOLVING GOG AND GOT IN NATO ARENA, AND BELIEVE THAT TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE THE PROCESS OF ARRANGING GREECE'S NEW ROLE IN NATO SHOULD BE INSULATED FROM GREEK/TURKISH DIFFERENCES ON CYPRUS AND IN THE AEGEAN.  
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NOTE BY OC/T: EXDIS CAPTION ADDED PER S/S-O - MR. JOHNSON.

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